21: Asai--7 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423

"Land tenure. In the Atayal tribe, some land is held in common. This common land has some ritual significance. Any piece of land which one family wants to cultivate can be used by that family. There is no fixed rule of possession of land, only the common land is fixed."

22: Wiedfeldt--16 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 224 Atayal

The antelope hunt and the wild boar hunts are not carried on by individual clans, but as a joint adventure of several clans in their common hunting-ground. For reasons similar to those which now require a minimum size for the formation of a private hunting preserve, the hunting-grounds of the Atayals are not distributed among the individual families, but to dekane, that is, hunting associations of from four to five clans. They are not permitted to hunt on the hunting-grounds of strange dekane. The hunters lie in wait for the game, attempt to wound it by arrows or bullets, and then pursue it until it collapses under the onslaught of blows from the spears. Speed and endurance in running are among the virtues of the Atayals.

22: Wiedfeldt--16-17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 621 Atayal

Every clan is the permanent owner of a fixed piece of arable land of about 100 to 130 hectares in size. No one knows how or when this land was assigned to the clan. [17] Every family of the clan may take as much of this clan land as it wishes.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 592, 423 Atayal

Since every Atayal family can count on only the labor which its own members supply, and the produce of the fields must furnish them their food, the families have tracts of land which are pretty much the same size. Out of a total of twenty families, only two particularly large families, between which a wedding was about to take place, had 1/5 more land than the usual area of 60 to 70 are. [MC: an are 0.02471 acre]

22: Wiedfeldt--17 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 311, 241 Atayal

As long as the family is making use of its plot of ground, their possession of it is protected. As soon as they leave it, which happens after two, or sometimes three crops, because the soil will not produce anything any more, any other family of the clan can take possession of it. This does not generally happen, however, before seven years have passed, and the field has become covered with a luxuriant growth of bushes and trees.

22: Wiedfeldt--26 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423, 614, 432, 574 Atayal

The arable land is the property of the clan. It protects the members in the undisturbed possession of the fields which he has planted. If one clan becomes much larger than another, for example, if it becomes much larger than one which has become reduced in numbers in fighting with the Japanese, the larger clan sometimes buys a piece of arable land from the small clan, paying it about 10 rokoschkaha [MC: clothing used as money] for a hillside plot of 12 hectares. The members of the clan fix the payment of this price by the families in the clan assembly, according to their funds. The families that settle on this hillside have to contribute more heavily. Also, the fines imposed upon the clan are collected in the assembly, as is also the price of the bride for a member whose family can not raise the money, but whom they wish to retain in the clan. Fines are paid to the head of the clan who is entitled to receive them. He organizes a feast with them, or hands the fines over to the family to whom they are due, and the family uses them for the same purpose.

22: Wiedfeldt--37 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 423 Atayal

Land does not belong to individual families.

25: Plaut--41-42 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 423, 578, 628

Settlement of quarrels. Quarrels naturally arise from many sources, the most frequent being hunting, slander and, among bachelors, love. Each tribe has its hunting territory, which it has possessed for a long time, and it has definite boundaries which members of other tribes are not permitted to cross. If anyone is found hunting in a preserve where he has no right to be, he has to pay a fine [42] to the offended tribe. If his statement contradicts that of his accuser, his own chief forces him to fight a duel with the other man in order to avoid a general quarrel.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoaŋ had 55 houses and Pinaiwanaŋ 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsaŋiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoaŋ. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tʃaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoaŋ, while the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tʃalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanaŋ. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoaŋ. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoaŋ and Pinaiwanaŋ has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tʃalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tʃalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tʃalas*, *gumul*, *tara²atea* and the south *tʃalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tʃalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para²aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusigunan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para²aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the ***mamatsanjiran***, (2) the ***maluvtsivtsik***, and (3) the ***pualu***. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade ***pualu***. The aristocratic class is generally called ***mamatsanjiran***, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called ***avusamaŋ***, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the ***maluvtsivtsik*** or consanguineous, and the ***naitsu a nᵊnmax*** or affinal. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** belongs to the Chimo group. Three ***maluvtsivtsik*** of the ***ruvaniau*** are the south ***tfalas***, the north ***tfalas***, and the ***tfaluŋi***. Among the ***naitsu a numax*** are the ***voto***, the ***taraᵊatea***, the ***gumul***, the ***matsiliat***, and the ***tfalusanjiu*** of the Chimo, and the ***atsinajaŋ***, the ***lusiguaŋ*** and the ***aliolaŋ*** of the Paiwan. The big chief ***ruvaniau*** possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south ***tfalas*** possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (***unutel***) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (***utsiputsipoŋ***) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or ***usam*** to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or ***muluvtsivtsik***. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The ***utsiputsipoŋ*** is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the ***utsiputsipoŋ*** household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the ***utsiputsipoŋ*** are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own ***umax*** or house. The ***umax*** or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its ***yataŋ a numax*** or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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ɟulti	„	*talialup*	„
aviaŋaŋ	„	*tsiŋulol*	„
ʦaovarul	„	*ɾuvaniau*	„
ɾalide	„	?	
atsaʔatsaraŋ	„	?	

B. Tax and labour

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All dwelling lands (*inaraŋ*), hunting grounds (*aliupaŋ*), fishing grounds (*pana*), cultivating lands (*atunaŋaŋ*) and things above the land were owned by aristocratic households. A commoner in order to have some lands to till, some grounds for hunting and fishing, and stones and fuel to be collected in the valleys or on the mountains, must submit himself to some aristocratic household as a serf (*unutal*), and is obliged to pay taxes to render feudal labours to his feudal lord. Taxes are of the following kinds:

a) *wadis na ʦatsəmul*—tax for hunting animal
b) *wadis na pana*—tax for fishing
c) *wadis na atsaŋ*—tax for domesticating animal
d) *itsivoŋ*—wine tax
e) *iluplup*—tax for collecting fuel
f) *paʔa*—tax for trading
g) *paʔa lura ta putsel*—tax for marriage

Feudal labours of a serf to his feudal lord are of the following kinds:

a) Land tillage (*pataʔalaŋ*): Each aristocratic household has preserved a portion of tilling land for its own. This portion of land is called *vavutəloŋ*. The *vavutəloŋ* of the *ɾuvaniau* household was tilled by all commoners of the village. Other *vavutəloŋ* were respectively tilled by serfs of those households. All products of these *vavutəloŋ* belong to the aristocratic households. This land-tillage system has been employed in Chala'abus village to substitute the land-tax.

b) House-building and house repairing (*jiraŋuts*): The commoners have the obligation to build or repair houses for chiefs. All commoners are obliged to render this kind of service to the *ɾuvaniau* and *sadilapaŋ* households.

c) Miscellaneous duties (*painuma a tsəvatsəvuŋ*): Commoners must render services to chiefs' households in their marriage, funeral or other occasions of the same kind.

d) Travelling service (*putsatsalaŋ*): A chief may require certain commoner to accompany him when travelling.

C. Tributary and audience

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The representative of the big chief in other villages must pay visits and tributes to his overlord the *ɾuvaniau* household after the harvests of millet and taro. Tributes presented by a *pinairaratse* to his overlord include 20 bundles of millet ears, a bottle of wine, a pig, 10 bunches of betel nut, a bag of groundnuts. In time of the five-years-feast, the chiefs of Chala'abus will be invited to visit villages where they have their representatives. At the death of the *pinairaratsə*, the overlord must condole the family of the dead and at the same time appoints the *usam* or heir of the family to succeed